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ABSTRACT

The report, requested of six experts appointed by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), (1) surveys the relations between the educational system and working life in the light of social objectives in the 24 OECD countries in the 1970's, and (2) advises those countries, proposing subjects and methods of cooperation between the relevant public authorities and between them and the employers, trade unions, and other social groups. The report contains 25 specific recommendations grouped under three broad headings: (1) a positive policy for working life, (2) an integrative policy for education, and (3) more options for the individual within a free-choice society. The experts found the quality of working life not keeping pace with individuals' capacities and aspirations, and recommended a policy that involves better jobs, more flexible working arrangements, more chance for participation, and more equity in advancement; found too many disadvantaged persons in the labor market, and recommended measures to create greater opportunities for these persons; found unwise separations between education and work, and recommended recurrent education; found too many rigidities imposed on individuals' lives and recommended more options; found inequities in educational opportunities, and recommended comprehensive schools; and found little communication among educational and labor market authorities, and recommended mechanisms for joint consultation. (Author/AJ)

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EDUCATION AND WORKING LIFE IN MODERN SOCIETY

A report by the Secretary-General's Ad Hoc Group
on the Relations between Education and Employment

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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FOREWORD

by the Secretary-General

Over the last few years the OECD has endeavoured to assist Member countries in developing specific policies for education and employment in response to rapid social and economic change. Increasingly it is being seen that the problems arising from the rapid expansion of education, changing employment and working conditions, and the role of the individual in contemporary advanced societies are closely inter-related and call for new policy approaches which take account of these inter-connections. Manpower and educational policies need in fact to be more closely harmonised than in the past if they are to serve the social and economic goals of countries more efficiently.

New policies in these fields, calling as they do for closer inter-departmental co-operation within governmental structures, can only be introduced progressively, and in consultation with all the social partners involved. It was in the belief that the Organisation could assist Member governments in exploring possible solutions that I invited a group of eminent experts to prepare an initial analysis of the problems and propose possible co-ordinated approaches to them. The results of their deliberations are embodied in the present report.

I wish to record my appreciation to the Group of Experts, and in particular its Chairman, for the speedy and effective way in which they have accomplished their task. The appearance of the report is, I believe, timely and its contents deserve to be made widely known within national administrations, employers' and employees' organisations, the academic community and the wider public. They will certainly be closely scrutinised within the OECD itself as a guide to future work by the Organisation in these areas.

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The report contained in the present volume is the work of a number of individuals acting in their personal capacities and not as representatives of any Member Government of OECD or the Secretary-General. Consequently it will be understood that the views expressed in the report remain the sole responsibility of the Group and that the recommendations are designed to call attention to a number of issues of public interest which merit careful consideration.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTA

Dear Secretary-General,

The mandate you gave us when we were appointed in December 1973 was to present a short, policy-oriented report reviewing:

> problems concerning the relations between the educational system and working life in the light of the social objectives in OECD countries in the 1970s,

and proposing:

> subjects and methods of co-operation between the relevant public authorities and between them and employers, trade unions and other social groups.

We were asked, in particular, to identify problem areas of sufficient common interest to warrant further mutual consultation and examination among OECD Member countries.

Our work took place over the period February to December 1974 during which we held three meetings in Paris. Our report necessarily presents a rather cursory view of the wide range of issues involved.

We have taken a broad interpretation of our mandate, assuming that we should look at welfare considerations as well as economic ones and we have made a number of suggestions for policy.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) *Jacques Delors*
Ricardo Díez-Hochleitner
John Hargreaves
Torsten Husén
Sylvia Ostry
Clark Kerr (Chairman)

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I

INTRODUCTION

The mandate of the Group of Experts on Education and Employment was to survey the relations between the educational system and working life in the light of the social objectives in OECD countries in the 1970s. In both of these fields, old ways of doing things are confronted by new imperatives. The acceleration of change, caused by the discoveries of modern technology; the impossibility of forecasting in any detail the future shape of our environment and our institutions; the questioning and, often, the rejection of the values, modes and structures of the past; the blurring of the old lines of division between education and work; the questioning of many other social and political barriers in society; and, perhaps most important, the assertion of a widespread desire for greater individual fulfillment all combine to suggest that a new look is needed at the ways in which we equip people to play a useful role in society and to manage their own lives.

There is, often, a rejection of the traditional approaches to school. The relevance both of curricula and of credentialism is questioned. The need to see education, and not just vocational training, as a continuing process is increasingly recognised as the best way to cope with the pressures and events of change. The qualities that allow an effective response to change appear more important than the acquisition of facts that become out of date. The need is seen to prepare people, not just for a job, but also to live in a total and dynamic environment.

At work, the educational level of the labour force is higher and growing faster than ever before but the aspirations of those who enter working life are often not fully matched by greater satisfaction in their jobs nor by a heightened sense of self-fulfillment. The equality of status people may have learned to expect from their education is often not mirrored in the environment of work. Skill requirements change frequently but doubt exists as to whether adequate provision is made to cope with this change. The development of new relationships between manager and employee reflects a type of instability that extends far beyond the workplace.

Against this background of questioning and change, of a sense of the inadequacy of past guidelines, and of uncertainty of what is relevant to the

future, the Group has felt it necessary to take a broad interpretation of its mandate, looking at social as well as economic objectives.

Not only is the future outlook more uncertain than at any time in the last two decades, but the problems we now face will be greatly intensified if there is a major or prolonged slowdown in the growth rate of OECD countries.

The detailed policy suggestions that we make are not particularly novel, but, as a total package, they go well beyond the current performance of any single Member country. We do suggest some new overall perspectives toward the solution of the problems that confront Member countries.

The text of the report indicates attitudes and policies that may advance thinking on the complex interplay of relationships between education and work. Our major views can be summarised as follows:

1. Individual development and human satisfaction must become a responsibility of the world of work as well as education. If the 19th century and early 20th century was the world of the self-made man through work, and the last 50 years saw the rise of meritocracy based on education, the future may be marked by a society in which education and work **together** make possible new patterns of individual development, providing more equity among individuals and a greater enhancement of all human resources and contributions.

2. To humanise work we suggest a "positive policy for working life" which should promote and support action by the social partners to improve the quality of working life, with a major emphasis on the goal of personal fulfillment as a complement to technical and economic considerations; and to supply greater opportunities for the currently disadvantaged.

3. We propose, as a parallel development, a more "integrative policy for education" which makes the OECD programme of "recurrent education" its core idea but goes beyond that to make education more of an instrument of social equity and more responsive to the needs of youth. Education can play its own important role in the humanisation of work by the provision of more education and training opportunities for adults. The development of such continuing education for adults should become a major priority for government policy.

4. We should never forget, even with the new attention to the education of adults, that as Wordsworth said, "The Child is father of the Man." From the viewpoint of both economic efficiency and social equity, society has a special responsibility to provide a coherent and satisfying range of education, work and service opportunities for young people between the end of compulsory secondary schooling and the beginning of adult life. The solution does not lie alone in provision of ever-lengthening full-time education for all. Policy in all countries must provide better opportunities for alternating and mixing education and training with work. For those who stay at school, there would be a diversified system of upper secondary education with opportunities for combining academic work with practical experience in society. Those who work should have access to training and educational opportunities, so as to diminish irreversible social selection.

5. The concept of recurrent education, within which youth and adult education would be interconnected so as to provide the basis for new and more varied patterns of individual development, seems to us to be a promising strategy for future educational development.

6. For people of all ages, there should be more flexible rules enabling them to move between (and within) education, work and leisure. People should have as much freedom as possible to organise their own life patterns, and unnecessary conformity should not be enforced by the regulations of public or private agencies. We favour development of institutions especially established to stand between formal school and full-time permanent work so as to guide young people in the formative stage of their working lives. We favour more options for individuals in an increasingly "free-choice society."

7. Implicit in the above is the conclusion that, if the traditional rule-bound division between school and work and, indeed, between work and those other activities that come under the headings of public service and leisure, is to be avoided, a new responsibility for helping to prepare people for life and to maintain their quality of living must be shared by all sectors of society. This means that educational institutions, government, the industrial world – both management and trade unions – and others, must together ensure that the stages in an individual's development and the facets of her or his experience may be reasonably consistent and potentially in harmony with each other.

II

A POSITIVE POLICY FOR WORKING LIFE

That education and work together heavily influence the patterns of life of the majority of citizens in modern society is a reality. Since most people have relatively few years of education and many years of working life, human welfare could be greatly increased by improvements both in the availability and security of employment and in the quality of working life. The uncertainties created by present social discontents and upheavals in the world economy highlight the need of people for both secure and satisfying work as a condition of continued social progress.

THE INTERACTION OF EDUCATION AND WORK

The capacity of individuals to understand and adapt to economic and technical change is, in today's complex technological civilisation, a major condition of access to jobs and income. Knowledge and technical skills are a basic condition of entry into an increasing range of occupations. And there is the other side of the coin: the actuality that, in the economically advanced countries, dull, routine and often dirty jobs, are increasingly rejected by all but the least competitive and most disadvantaged workers. Indeed, education is sometimes accused of raising the aspirations of people with regard to work beyond the capacity of our economies to meet them. Thus, a basic contradiction in modern societies is that education for freedom and autonomy is followed, for many, by routine and boring work in hierarchic organisations. Consequently, the obverse of the need for education to provide a basis for employment is the need for jobs to be adapted to the aspirations of people.

This dialectic interaction between education and work is complicated by the fact that the exit points from education no longer necessarily correspond, as in the past, to the points of entry into employment and to life-time career potentials. Expansion of education has produced many more people with trained minds and highly developed professional and technical skills. The overall structure of employment and the content of jobs have not responded to these transformations of "human capital". An important issue is thus how, given the educational flows which cannot easily be changed in the short run, employment and work can be changed to reflect more fully the social context of economic

life. At the same time, there are many older people who, having missed the educational revolution of recent times, have had only a limited education; and many youth who find no effective routes of transition from education to work. Education and work are mismatched in at least these three major ways.

These are some of today's challenges to which both educational, manpower and social policies must respond. Trade unions must react on behalf of organised workers and employers on behalf of their employees. The time is one for new initiatives and for new integrations of policy between the public and private sectors, and between education and employment.

THE ACTIVE MANPOWER POLICY

As a response to the employment problems of modern societies, the OECD has developed the concept of active manpower policy to promote programmes for more effective and socially acceptable matching of supply and demand in labour markets. In today's situation of incipient unemployment combined with inflation – and complicated by the prospect of a different structure and slower pace of economic growth – active manpower policies should be used more intensively. This would concern both job creation and adjustment programmes for disadvantaged groups and areas, and such industrial training programmes for both youth and adults as have already been massively established in some countries.

A POSITIVE POLICY FOR WORKING LIFE

These policies are, however, not the complete answer to the problems of the day. Manpower policy in most countries has to date been mainly a matter of promoting high and stable levels of employment by influencing the level and structure of demand and supply in external labour markets, through the localisation of employment opportunities and the movement of workers between firms and areas. Only indirectly or through specific activities of limited scope has it influenced the profile of jobs and the structure of internal employment. Yet, a great many job changes take place within enterprises and are beyond the reach of present public policies. This is a serious drawback because many enterprises – perhaps the majority – are prevented from pursuing enlightened policies for personnel development by the nature of their competitive position. And, in general, enterprises tend to invest more heavily and plan careers more carefully for their more highly qualified manpower than for the majority in the lower ranks.

A new challenge to governments, working in close collaboration with employers and unions, is thus to devise better ways of helping enterprises to develop policies that are economically viable and yet meet the rising aspirations of workers. Many firms could also be helped to provide employment and training for those who today do not get access. Training policies could be developed to correct inequities and imbalances resulting from the inadequacies of earlier education. The initially less competitive should be helped to join the mainstream of the society through access to stable and better jobs.

Beyond this, the technological and production requirements of jobs should increasingly take into account human elements and better meet the aspirations of people. This will entail giving increased weight to the personal costs of the hard, dirty or dangerous jobs that reduce the working capacity of individuals and often their working lives. This is not an area in which governments could or should intervene directly, except to control standards of safety and other working conditions, but incentives to firms to develop humanised technologies could certainly be applied in a variety of ways. And it must be expected that the comparative earnings levels of disagreeable jobs will rise substantially.

In sum, work should be more than a means to an end; it should itself be satisfying for as many people for as much of the time as possible. Such an approach represents an extension of traditional manpower and personnel policies. It would involve:

enriching jobs;

developing more flexibility of work and careers;

providing more freedom in the organisation of the working day and week;

allowing greater participation in decision-making in industry; and

ensuring that opportunities for employment and training are available on a more equitable basis.

A new balance should be struck between capital, technology and the human elements in production.

Governments have a special responsibility and opportunity to contribute to these objectives through their own recruitment and management policies, for the public sector employs a large proportion of all workers in OECD countries.

However, if a new approach to enhancing the quality of working life is to emerge, a major effort is also required on the part of business and the trade unions. It means changes in outlooks as profound as those we advocate below for education, if employers and unions are not to be out of step with the value systems of the times. Enterprises must provide those who enter the labour market with a more satisfying work environment, not simply a job. It would, of course, be naive not to recognise that there are conflicts among society's needs and those of individuals and of firms, but there is also common ground. Unless this common ground is identified in working life, the new spirit which we are proposing for education in the section which follows cannot be fully implemented.

Recommendation 1

A Positive Policy for Working Life

Thus we recommend affirmative action to secure improvements in the quality of working life, with major emphasis on the goal of personal fulfillment over and above the technical and economic requirements of production. Such a positive policy for working life should include the development of more clearly defined criteria for job assessment, merit reward and salary scales; job enrichment; increasing flexibility of work and careers, and in the organisation of the working day and week; greater worker

participation in decision-making; and the provision of opportunities for career development and training on a more equitable basis. The public sector, in its recruitment and promotion policies, should take the initiative in this area. We recognise that such developments depend on considerable changes in attitude on the part of both employers and unions, and that more positive action by governments is needed to facilitate this.

We define a "positive policy for working life" as including:

Assistance to all workers in the labour force to adapt their skills and locations to economic demands.

Educational opportunities, skill training, placement facilities and job rules to assist the less advantaged – the "outsiders", including youth, women, ethnic and racial minorities and migrants, to contribute more fully to and participate more adequately in the results of modern industrial society.

On-the-job training for employees and patterns for greater upward mobility within the firm.

Job enrichment and improvement, and the association of employees with the decision-making process.

Provisions for more choices for individuals in patterns of working time, retirement and educational leave.

THE DISADVANTAGED

Unequal access to education, to steady employment and to income are interconnected. Many people, but notably youth, women, ethnic and racial minorities, the physically and mentally handicapped, and foreign workers experience competitive disadvantages in obtaining continuous and satisfactory employment at socially acceptable levels of earnings. They are the "outs" rather than the "ins" of our employment system. Insufficient or inadequate education is partly to blame, as is the preference of many employers for hiring, training and promoting people with established records of education and employment. Furthermore, in economic downturns it is the disadvantaged who bear much of the burden of unemployment.

The disadvantaged benefit to only a modest degree from continuous employment in prosperous enterprises with its intrinsic satisfactions, and from other advantages in the form of enterprise pension schemes, paid vacations, career development, training opportunities and increased protection from the insecurities of the economic system. They are often outside the system of profitable enterprises in which earnings, security of employment and working conditions are advanced via an effective collective bargaining system. Existing manpower policies have helped some disadvantaged people to enter this protected system by finding and moving them to jobs, and by providing vocational training and counselling and better employment services. But a substantial proportion are still on the margin of the organised labour market, move into

and out of casual and part-time jobs, and remain stuck in low income, seasonally and cyclically unstable occupations.

The numbers of people in this disadvantaged group appear to be growing in many OECD countries. Governments and enterprises should endeavour together to create more equitable employment opportunities for them, so as to integrate them more fully into society – both as a matter of equity and also because they represent hidden social and economic costs. A large proportion of these costs is borne by governments in the form of welfare benefits, income support programmes, unemployment benefits, and expenditures to reduce crime. Much of the productivity of these people is lost to the economy, and in many cases they are mired in a vicious circle of poverty, lack of education and training, and unemployment or broken employment. Both public and enterrise manpower policies, and notably through training, can attack the problem of meeting the needs of these disadvantaged groups more effectively, bearing in mind that useful work – even if publicly subsidised – is better for the individual than being out of a job even with unemployment benefits.

Recommendation 2

Policies for the Disadvantaged

We recommend that policies to help disadvantaged people should (a) give them special assistance in gaining skills and in finding employment, (b) make available more opportunities for their development on the job, and (c) provide better co-ordination between policies for employment security and for income maintenance.

YOUTH

Many of the disadvantaged persons are young people, especially those with limited education and employment experience. They tend to be the "last in" and "first out" of employment, since they lack the formal credentials to compete for jobs and the specific training needed to perform other than low-skilled work. Their problems are compounded by the attitudes of many employers who hire according to such criteria as stable work history and settled family life. An additional group is composed of those who show independence of spirit in searching for varied and meaningful human experiences and, as a consequence, are discriminated against by employers. They may also have difficulties in resuming formal education and training. They pay a high price for independence of mind and action. A basic change of attitudes by employers and by education authorities is needed. Employers and educational institutions need to be encouraged to realise that it is sometimes the more able who follow non-routine patterns through education and into employment. Such young persons should be met with understanding when applying for jobs or for reentry into education, rather than looked upon with such disfavour. We shall return later to the special problems of youth.

WOMEN

Women constitute a major group whose economic potential is widely underutilised in employment. Occupational segregation of male and female jobs, which

is a typical feature of our society, constitutes a basic social inequality which is rooted in education, the family environment and traditional values. The key to action in our view is to widen employment opportunities, thereby encouraging access to broader educational opportunities. The prejudiced views of their future working roles in society which the schools impose on girls, for example by discouraging them from entering certain lines of study such as mathematics or science, should be combated. Dropping out of education, particularly at the higher levels, is also more widespread amongst girls than boys in many countries. For all these reasons, it is clear that, on the average, girls enter the labour market with educational disadvantages, later compounded by unequal access to on-the-job training and, for those who have children, by a break in the work record.

In many OECD countries, discrimination against women, in the sense of lower rates of pay for similar jobs, is on the decline. But the traditional working roles go on. Some jobs, such as typing and nursing, are unnecessarily characterised as "female". Some of the more prestigious occupations impose time constraints and career patterns which are incompatible with family responsibilities. It is, of course, obvious that significant career commitments must be made by women if their legitimate demands for equality are to be met by employers, unions and governmental institutions. At the same time, there are special problems to be overcome: their child-bearing and related social roles which must be taken into account by employers, unions and governments in the arrangement of work hours, in the flexibility of career patterns, in provisions for child care, and in other innovations in the institutional structures of education and work. Salary and working conditions should be equal; but to impose the standard male career patterns is a form of inequality.

If these inequalities are to be overcome, more weight and power should be given to women in the councils of education, management, government institutions and unions.

Recommendation 3
Equality for Women

A co-ordinated series of measures in education, in the labour market and in the community at large is needed: equal access to educational programmes for both sexes, particularly at the higher levels; increased adult training and retraining opportunities for women, particularly for women wishing to re-enter employment when their children are no longer at the early childhood stage; adequate pre-school education and child-care facilities if women with young children are to have the option of entering employment or continuing in it; more part-time jobs, and more flexible time-schedules and career patterns.

MIGRANT WORKERS

Migrant workers are a third group for which special attention is needed in many Member countries. The least desirable jobs in society survive, in part, because migrants are willing and often anxious to do them. This unequal international division of labour is perpetuated because differential conditions and

social standards among countries make it advantageous for both migrants and host countries. But what was hitherto envisaged as a temporary problem of balance among economies has now become a permanent feature of economic and social development. There is, therefore, a clear need to adapt policies so that foreign workers can secure improved access to better employment, and so that they and their children can have access to educational facilities which will enable them to participate more fully in the societies in which they live – and to contribute more to the economic and social development of their home countries, if and when they return.

The relative lack of information about migrant groups and their educational and labour market needs dismays us in the light of the current importance of the problem. Nevertheless, certain things are clear. Language teaching facilities for both migrant adults and children are inadequate in many countries. Low linguistic attainment has been clearly shown to retard educational development, and it is also an obvious and powerful barrier to labour market flexibility and individual opportunity. Migrants also need to be better informed about their rights.

Recommendation 4

A "Bill of Rights" for Migrant Workers

We recommend that, both as an indication of real concern and of practical intent, governments draw up a "bill of rights" for migrants similar to legislation already enacted in some countries to protect women. Such a "bill of rights" must not be a substitute for action, but a public and overt focus for policy reform and practical results.

Some of the problems dealt with in this section of our Report are, in part, the result of the inadequate interaction between the policies of governments and the actions of enterprises. Most enterprises with manpower policies have focused them on their more highly qualified and scarce personnel, who have already benefited from government expenditure on higher education – some of the costs of which are borne by the less privileged. It is mainly public manpower programmes which focus on the less qualified people in the labour force, among whom competition for jobs is keener. The co-ordination of education and manpower policies is not primarily a question of imbalances in the numbers of people seeking jobs in an occupation and the number of jobs available, important though this can often be. At root, it is one of finding ways, through both education and employment, to pursue a more equitable treatment of individuals through their lifetimes, and of doing so through government, enterprise and trade union policies. We now turn to the contribution of education to this objective.

III

AN INTEGRATIVE POLICY FOR EDUCATION

A positive policy for working life, as advocated above, could not succeed without the active help of those responsible for education. This is not to say that education should be subordinated to employment – rather that both education and work should play their part in the meaningful development and full utilisation of human potentials, and in meeting the changing needs of society. If citizens are to participate actively in and influence public and working life, education must help lay the foundation. To succeed, greater attention than in the past must be given to those who are less able or slow to learn. For youth, a wider range of education-employment options must be developed, in co-operation with employing institutions, so as to bridge the gap between school and work. Adult and recurrent education are needed to help members of the labour force to adapt to new techniques, change their jobs and occupations, and participate actively in decision-making in enterprises and in the community. Changes in education and in its relationships to working life are needed to meet these challenges.

Our diagnosis leads us to give priority to three areas of policy:

continuing education for adults so as to provide for personal development over a longer part of the life-span;

new opportunities for youth to combat the inadequacies and uncertainties confronting many young people today;

strengthened basic education, so as to prepare children for a changing and unforeseeable future, and equip them for continuing learning at various stages of life.

We suggest that these may be combined in an "integrative policy for education".

A COHERENT POLICY FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Educational expansion since World War II has vastly increased opportunities for young people. The needs of adults, particularly those with the least education, are now also becoming a high priority. General cultural education

for adults has a long tradition in many OECD countries and served originally as a means for educating the spokesmen of various popular movements. Today, adult education is provided in a bewildering variety of forms, from single lectures and short courses to full university degrees, from the strictly vocational to the broadly cultural. It has developed on an ad hoc basis and is run by a wide variety of governmental and private bodies. The total scope of governmental activity in terms of participants and costs is not satisfactorily defined in any OECD country, and the same is true of the varied activities carried out by the private sector in the form of on-the-job training. However, there is no doubt that the total volume of adult education is very considerable and growing, even if financial aid for those who participate is meagre compared with governmental subsidy for the more formal education of the young.

A more coherent philosophy for adult education and training opportunities is now urgently needed – not as a second-class supplement to the formal education system, but as a closely co-ordinated part of a broader education system, whose programmes and certification procedures are designed to provide education over the individual's lifetime, in alternation with other activities. Such an approach can be effectively implemented only in conjunction with supportive policies in the work situation. In particular, it requires effective provisions for educational leaves of absence, and some degree of industrial representation to ensure that every worker has a fair chance to exercise his rights. This is not simply a matter of improving facilities for adult education, but also involves a fundamental change in attitudes towards the role of education as a life-long process, providing new flexibility and opportunity at all stages.

Pedagogical changes are also essential. Some adults, and particularly those who failed in school, detest the prospect of and even sometimes fear a return to the classroom. The life-style of adults does not lend itself to lengthy, academic courses. Education consisting of small schedules of specially-oriented courses would be much more flexible and render short-range planning easier than the traditional institutionalised system with a large proportion of pupils aiming for degrees and certificates. This would not only improve efficiency, but also serve to equalise opportunities and give more people a second chance.

New patterns of finance will be needed if such approaches to adult education are to be implemented effectively. The large amount of training that already takes place in enterprises has a significant impact on the earnings capacity of those who receive it. But the opportunities are distributed unevenly and sometimes haphazardly, both among enterprises and among members of the labour force. Some employees receive inadequate training from their employers because of lack of resources and inadequate awareness of their needs and of potential benefits. It is, of course, desirable that employers should be able to make their own plans and decisions about the type and scale of training to be given, but public policy should ensure an adequate overall level of training opportunities and a reasonable social distribution of such opportunities, and assist in the more effective integration of education and employment.

A significant policy development in this field is the 1971 French law on continuing education. This allows up to two per cent of a firm's labour force to be away on educational leave of absence, and provides for a minimum

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proportion of the wage bill – at present one per cent rising to two per cent by 1976 – to be devoted to the financing of such leave. The law is still in its infancy, results are only beginning to emerge, and it is difficult to estimate how much of the increase in training opportunities is due to the law's initiative. A similar law, passed in 1973 in Belgium, gives all full-time workers under 40 who are studying in the evenings the right to be absent from work, on full pay, for a certain number of hours. In Germany, the Labour Promotion Act of 1969 constituted another step towards establishing the right of employees to take up education with extensive compensation for expenses and loss of pay, although here an analysis of the participants in 1970 reveals that younger employees (those under 35) are the most heavily involved and that people with the least amount of formal education are under-represented. Other significant developments include the 1974 agreement reached in Italy between employers and the Confederated Metalworkers Union, giving workers the right to 150 paid hours of educational leave over a period of three years, and the recent law establishing a general right to leave of absence for educational purposes.

Even if provision is made along the lines of the above examples, will adults be ready to take these opportunities? This is a crucial question because full-time education is expensive, either for individuals who might have to forego income or for employers or governments who compensate them for loss of income. Security or re-entry into employment and protection of seniority rights are therefore key issues. There are also secondary difficulties such as the short-term geographical immobility of many people with young children in school.

One solution to these anxieties is part-time courses. But experience shows that many employees find it hard to attend courses regularly, even where arrangements are specifically made to release them. Others are unable to satisfy their requirements because they live outside the large metropolitan areas which can provide a wide range of facilities. Some quite naturally find it difficult to get down to study after a hard day's work, particularly when they have a long journey to work. For all these reasons, the drop-out rate from adult part-time courses is normally very high.

There are, however, many examples of successful arrangements for continuing education particularly in the managerial and professional grades of the public sector and in very large private enterprises. They show that, if educational institutions provide courses relevant to the needs of employers and employees, there will be little difficulty in attracting students. The Training Opportunities Scheme in the United Kingdom and the large-scale manpower training programmes of Sweden and Canada, which provide retraining opportunities and pay for adults from all types of occupations below the level of the highly qualified, may be mentioned in this context.

In the long run, the key to releasing any pent-up demand is likely to be a positive and active attitude on the part of employers and trade unions which would place education and training in the context of career development for substantial numbers of working people. This would involve new approaches to the personnel structure of the enterprise, new job definitions and conditions of service, more autonomous jobs, so-called "parabolic" career patterns involving downward mobility as retirement is approached by some persons in some jobs, more flexible pension schemes, and a new role for personnel management.

The future of the individual should not be so tied to her or his firm as in the past, and opportunities must be given to those who are not in any case in enterprises. Given also the need for training and educational opportunities for adults, to cover not only vocational training of interest to employers but also broader education of interest to the individual and society, and bearing in mind the need to avoid weakening the competitive position of firms which are generous in the training and education they give to their workers, **we favour the idea of a public policy of continuing education backed by a fund to which both governments and enterprises contribute. There are various ways of achieving this, either through legislation or collective bargaining, but we believe one or the other or both of these approaches should be widely followed.**

Recommendation 5

A Fund for Continuing Education

The future of continuing education for adults is linked, in our view, with a substantial change in educational and working opportunities for youth in the age-group 16 to 20. If young people are frustrated by their school experience during this period of their lives – and indeed before – they are unlikely to take advantage of their educational opportunities later in life. Many of the problems of youth are a consequence of the irrevocable decisions about education and work that young people are often compelled to make before testing themselves in the practical world. Arrangements under which adults have greater opportunities to develop, in which the educational value of experience on the job is better recognised, and in which work provides more avenues for career development, would also help to relieve the pressures on young people to hang on indefinitely in education, or to "drop out" permanently because neither education nor work is appealing. It would also be fairer to the older generation which missed but now pays for the greater educational opportunities; and fairer to some social groups, women for example, who have been channelled by social prejudice and educational discrimination into occupations below their potentialities.

THE PRESENT OPTIONS OF YOUTH

When compulsory schooling is over, young people have six options. They may:

leave school and not seek employment (Alternative A);

enter the labour force but remain or become unemployed (Alternative B);

go straight into work and abandon study altogether (Alternative C);

combine employment with part-time education (Alternative D);

combine employment with full-time education (Alternative E);

stay at school full-time without employment (Alternative F).

Alternative A. Those who do not seek employment after leaving school are mostly girls, the handicapped and teenagers who voluntarily "drop out" or leave school without marketable skills. All these groups present perplexing problems to which we have not been able to give due attention. But we do feel

that our proposals for more equal and continuing opportunities for all would be helpful also to the groups, and, in particular, so would our suggestions concerning new opportunities for youth which are outlined below.

Alternative B. The teenage unemployed are another group of growing dimensions. They number well above ten per cent in the U.S. and Canada, and their rate of unemployment greatly exceeds that for adults. In Europe, recorded juvenile unemployment is much lower, but also appears to be growing. Many of the teenagers looking for part-time or temporary jobs in North America would not be treated as members of the labour force in European Member countries, so that the European situation may be worse than the statistics suggest. The incidence of youth unemployment is usually biggest for ethnic and racial minorities, and other disadvantaged groups such as immigrants. Some of their employment problems arise from their low level of education, a difficulty which might be mitigated by compensatory school facilities early in their educational careers. But if they are to enter the labour market as nearly as possible on equal terms with their more favoured contemporaries, changes in basic education will be needed.

Youth unemployment is often exacerbated by official policies originally designed to protect this age group. A gap between the minimum school leaving age and the minimum employment age tends to create unemployment, or drive youth into illegal activities, in some countries. In others, minimum wage laws or heavy minimum social security payments may make employers hesitant to employ young persons who are learning on-the-job. In these cases, there is obviously a need to review the relevance of existing legislation to modern social conditions. Such a review should include safeguards against irresponsible exploitation by some young people or by some employers of these opportunities. Subject to this, **we recommend that governments should consider the possibility of lowering social security payments for young employees. Pension fund payments for people under 21 are one example where remission of payments may be desirable as an assistance to youth employment. In part, this could be considered as a balancing item for the subsidies received by their contemporaries in full-time education.**

Recommendation 6

Incentives to Youth Employment

Alternative C. Many able young persons, especially in Europe, still drop out of school and start working at the minimum age, because their families need their income. There are a number of financial inducements to stay in school, such as family allowances, parental income tax relief for dependent children, and in some countries, direct grants for children in school. We recognise that a universal system of grants for children in upper-secondary school is not a financial possibility, but **we recommend an extension of financial aid to support post-compulsory attendance of young persons from low-income families.**

Recommendation 7

Financial Aid for Low-Income Upper-Secondary Students

Many young people enter employment because they find schooling unsatisfactory. The feeling of lack of purpose and relevance reduces motivation to learn. The school atmosphere should be improved so as to provide a less tutelary situation than now exists in many OECD countries. Schools for teen-

agers in our society are "action-poor", particularly in the most industrialised countries. Changes in school organisation and curricula are needed to reduce the sense of alienation of many social groups induced by the educational system itself.

Alternative D. A combination of part-time education and training is a way of providing some teenagers with a feeling of relevance and purpose. This option provides the independence and maturity that comes from earning an income, and at the same time it does not cut young people off from learning opportunities and further career development. In some countries, e.g., Germany and the Netherlands, a modest amount of part-time formal education is compulsory for young workers in certain trades to age 18, but in most countries such provisions are voluntary. The 1944 Education Act in the United Kingdom provided for some form of compulsory education for everybody up to age 18, but this has never been implemented. Some young people cannot pursue daytime options because their employers prevent or discourage them from having time off to study. Several countries, however, give legal leave of absence rights and in some cases workers get paid leave for such study. Conditions vary greatly from country to country, but action is needed in many countries to add this type of flexibility in working life. **We are strongly in favour of arrangements which strengthen the rights of young workers to educational leave, both for vocational and general educational purposes.**

Recommendation 8

Educational Leave for Young Workers

Provided that the training imparted during apprenticeship is effective, the system has substantial virtue in that it gives operational reality to the concept of closer relationships between education and working life and, at its best, can ensure that work experience brings both personal fulfillment and development. But apprenticeship training is often unnecessarily prolonged, and provides little opportunity for general education. The pay of apprentices is often very low, and their ultimate range of skills may be rather narrow – a drawback in a society where the individual is likely to wish to or to have to change her or his skills. Finally, apprenticeship training should be so organised that there is a possibility of proceeding to higher education, thereby diminishing the socially selective aspects of apprenticeship. **For all these reasons, we believe that there is a role for a modern form of apprenticeship, but the traditional schemes are urgently in need of review.**

Recommendation 9

A Modern Form of Apprenticeship

Alternative E. Those able to combine full-time schooling with work are rather rare in European countries but more common in the U.S.A. This option has some drawbacks in that it puts a heavy strain on those involved, but it has the merit of providing a chance to combine full-time education with work experience and income. **We feel that, in Europe particularly, governments should encourage this option by creating more part-time and temporary job opportunities in the public sector, for both adolescents and adults engaged in full-time schooling? We call attention to the successful experience in the United States with work-study programmes for college students, with the**

Recommendation 10

More Part-Time and Temporary Jobs for Youth

work taking place both on and off campus; and to "vo-tech" programmes in high schools which include part-time work that often leads directly to full-time employment. Public service programmes are particularly susceptible to part-time employment.

Alternative F. The most privileged group of teenagers is composed of those who stay in full-time education without working. But in many European countries there is a sharp distinction between secondary schools which do, and those which do not, lead on to higher education. Most countries are now trying to reduce this differentiation in order to provide greater flexibility of options and transfer possibilities. In the past, success in the examination at the end of academic secondary school provided the entrance ticket to the entire system of higher education in most West European countries. This system has begun to be modified and some countries now accept a wider range of qualifications for entry to higher education. They accept people who have not completed the traditional cycle, or mature students who enter from work. **We strongly favour these moves to put the organisation of secondary schooling on a more flexible basis, and to liberalise entry into higher education.**

Recommendation 11

Less Secondary School Streaming and More Liberal Entry to Higher Education

The most favoured students are those who continue right through to higher education. At one time, the dream of educational progressives was to put everyone in a situation of continuous uninterrupted education from infancy to adulthood. Recent experience has demonstrated the untenability of such a model, since it is unlikely to produce either fulfillment for individuals or the best results for society. In the long run, new models will need to be developed, involving a much more complex range of choices lying between full-time post-compulsory education and full-time work.

A significant number of students in higher education are reluctant or unmotivated learners. Many of them are immature and unsure about their long-run objectives for personal development because they are unfamiliar with the world of work. We have therefore given serious consideration to the case for compulsory interruption of education to ensure that all entrants to higher education should have had work experience, but we think that this would be too extreme a move. **We do, however, recommend that entrants to higher education be given the opportunity to defer their entrance until they have gained some work or social service experience, and that higher education institutions should adjust their entrance requirements to give preference to those with prior work experience.**

Recommendation 12

Deferred Entry into Higher Education

NEW PATTERNS OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

In order to cope with the rising numbers of students, diversification in higher education has become the policy of the majority of OECD countries.

This has implied the development of a variety of institutions outside the universities, including programmes to provide vocationally-oriented education. New structures of mass higher education are emerging, for example the integrated, comprehensive model of the university represented by the German **Gesamthochschule,** and the Danish University Centres. The blueprint for higher education submitted by the U-68 Royal Commission in Sweden envisages a more vocational orientation of the whole system during the first three years of study, and the integration of all post-secondary institutions into a single system. We favour moves to diversify the range of options in higher education to meet the needs of different kinds of students, with varying entrance qualifications and amounts of time required for participation.

The main difficulty, in all countries where such diversification of post-secondary education is being attempted, arises from the need to respond to two competing types of requirements: on the one hand, higher education must maintain and even strengthen its academic standards, ensuring excellence both in teaching and research; on the other, it must provide adequate educational opportunities to a mass of students whose interests, abilities and aspirations are extremely heterogeneous – and often do not correspond to the traditional functions of universities. Liberal admission standards are needed, as well as transfer arrangements among different types of institutions. The reconciliation of these two requirements is difficult. All too often there is an isolated sector of "second class" higher education considered by students, teachers and some employers as taking second place to traditional, full-time university education.

The high value attached to theoretical and academic higher education, as compared with work-related or vocationally-centred education, seems to be the main reason for these difficulties. Students resist the introduction of new degrees because they do not correspond to the standard norm. Governments promote the development of new patterns of study but do not give them recognition in their civil service entrance and promotion requirements. Employers criticise the abstract nature of university education but recruit university graduates more readily than those from non-traditional streams. Trade unions fight for equality of opportunity but see it only in the framework of an extension of the elite university. Professional associations complain about the outdated nature of existing university education but block more innovative solutions via their influence over certification. **We recommend that governments committed to a policy of diversifying post-secondary education should adopt measures to encourage the acceptability of these new institutions. Since many of them are devoted to higher professional, technical and management education, an example would be set if recruitment into the public service was on equal terms as for graduates from the universities.**

Recommendation 13

Measures to Give Status to Non-University Institutions of Higher Education

The proposals made above would, if accepted, make significant changes in the options facing youth today. Yet the forces behind the present difficulties are so strong that a more radical approach may be needed. If society continues to select people into the social structure more or less on the basis of their education as young people, the pressures to enter the golden door of higher

education will continue. If young people cannot find jobs which satisfy them, they will continue to hang on in the educational system or drop out into the streets. If the separation of learning to be and learning to do continues, the practical will continue to be second best to the theoretical. Youth needs both.

Yet the tendency in the past has been to assume that the forces of change would lead gradually to a system of full-time institutionalised education for all young people up to their late teens – a process which has gone furthest in the U.S.A. This is a tendency whose inevitability and desirability we seriously question. Many young persons will want to start their working life at age 16 or so, as they do in the U.S., even when they are in full-time education. The policy problem is how to provide a range of education-work options for the whole teenage group. At the moment, no country has a coherent policy approach embracing the whole range of educational and training options for teenagers.

An integrated system of curricular options for teenage education should be more varied and more balanced than that in most existing school systems. This requires co-operation between educational authorities, employers and trade unions in order that the options, especially vocational ones, can be formulated. Pupils who combine school with work should have the opportunity to combine courses of general education with vocational ones, so that the option of access to higher levels of education at a later stage is preserved, and so that they can adapt their vocational skills as economic structures and technologies change in the future.

Those who opt for general courses of upper-secondary education should spend some part of their time getting practical experience relevant to their academic work. This is not a proposal that employing institutions should turn themselves into schools. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that well-conceived practical experience in the professions, industry, commerce, administration or social service can have a profound pedagogical value for young people, for the simple reason that human learning as distinct from animal learning is a dialogue between concept and practice. **This is such a fundamental point that we recommend that educational authorities should give incentives to industrial, commercial and administrative enterprises, public and private, to formulate practical projects with pedagogical value on which young people in upper-secondary academic courses can work. This would of course have consequences for the organisation and content of school courses.**

Recommendation 14

Incentives to Enterprises to Develop Learning Projects for Young People

All young people, at least up to the age of legal maturity, should have a real chance of mixing work, education and training in accordance with their abilities and aspirations. Too often at present the choice is one of all or nothing. We believe that employers must show themselves more willing to tolerate a situation in which young people change their jobs several times before settling down to a permanent career – they should have "the right to make a mistake". While this may lead to some increase in the short-term unemployment of young people searching for satisfying work, it is a small price to pay for better careers.

Trade unions can help by recognising that mobile young people without family responsibilities sometimes have different needs, as far as job security and job protection are concerned, from those of their older colleagues. What is needed is competence rather than narrowly-defined skills, and the co-operation of schools and firms is the essential basis for giving young people such competence. **To achieve this, organised alternation between school and work seems to be the essential principle. Educational institutions can help by adopting as flexible as possible an attitude to transfers among school, work and service. Whenever possible, courses should be organised on a modular structure. The system should be structured so as to avoid premature definitive choices or blind-alley options.**

Recommendation 15
Organised Alternation of School and Work

None of this can succeed if a greater effort is not made to provide jobs, and as far as possible satisfying jobs, for young people. Labour market and educational authorities, employers and trade unions should together try to open up new job opportunities. **We therefore recommend that governments give more incentives to employers to offer a wider range of opportunities for young people and to allow them to combine work and education. Minimum wage legislation might be reviewed. Social security contributions might be remitted during the first few months in a new job, conditional on participation in formal training. Income maintenance might be provided (in the absence of unemployment insurance) for those wishing to change their first job. In the public sector itself, social programmes could be developed which would provide interesting jobs to meet unsatisfied community needs.**

Recommendation 16
Jobs for Young People

RECURRENT EDUCATION AND RECURRENT WORK
A STRATEGY FOR RELATING YOUTH AND ADULT OPPORTUNITIES

The main goal of the policies proposed above should be more flexible education and work patterns, achieved through a closer partnership between and among educational authorities, labour market authorities, employers and trade unions. More individualised and more rational decisions about education, careers, job changes and retirement would thereby be made possible – a theme we spell out below.

Continuing education to enable adults to adjust over time to changes in society, and a new pattern of opportunities for youth, would be important steps in this direction. But neither of these meets fully the challenge we believe to exist, because they are unlikely to change fundamentally the pattern of social demand for education in the long run. The compulsion on young people to choose full-time education for as long as possible will remain if education rights are fully consumed or lost at the end of basic education. Recurrent education introduces two fundamental principles, (a) deferred educational rights

and (b) the consequent opening up of new alternating patterns of individual development which relate opportunities for education and work in different ways. We favour this concept as an overall strategy. In essence, we would like to see a situation in which, for example, entry into work after secondary school followed by higher education at, say 25, would be looked upon with as much favour as direct entry from school to higher education emerging at 25.

This new approach to the future development of education is inspired both by the present rigidities of the educational system and the necessary changes in the world of work outlined above. The aim is gradually to move from the present system of full-time continuous education for youth alone towards one which allows greater freedom to alternate with other activities and in particular with work. Effective implementation therefore calls for supporting social and labour market policies, for example, the laws and regulations governing job security, retirement benefits, flexibility of working time; and most important of all, educational leave of absence and/or drawing rights which can be deferred according to the needs of the new education-work patterns.

Recommendation 17

A New Pattern of Opportunities via Recurrent Education

We welcome the development of the concept of recurrent education. Such an approach is important in increasing equity and providing a second chance. Even more important in the long run is the possibility that this approach will greatly increase the flexibility of arrangements for education and working life and increase the possibilities for personal fulfillment. If recurrent education is to become a real force in the equalisation of life chances, schemes for part-time and full-time leave of absence, with compensation for loss of earnings, are essential. To minimise the danger that schemes for recurrent education will be socially regressive, we recommend that those with low incomes and little previous schooling should receive preferential treatment.

IMPLICATIONS FOR BASIC EDUCATION

In this Section on the problems of integrating education in society, we have concentrated on the period after compulsory schooling. It is then that the main implications of new relationships between education and work are to be found. However, we wish to stress that many of the problems we have discussed have their origin in basic compulsory education, or even earlier.

A system of recurrent education postulates that more equality and more efficiency will result from a wider range of education and work options for youth, interacting with more rights and opportunities for adults in the labour force. But, if youth is to be given more options, all children should be brought to the starting line on more equal terms; with more of an equal opportunity to exercise their talents. Otherwise the existing process of social selection via social origin will go on. This implies two challenges for the basic educational system. First, there would be an overriding necessity to ensure that during their basic compulsory education all children are enabled to develop a propensity for

further education in their subsequent careers. Second, and most important of all, initial disadvantages due to inadequate home and community conditions should as far as possible be eradicated by positive discrimination in the use of resources in favour of disadvantaged groups, thus allowing talent and effort to emerge and be rewarded on a competitive basis. Equality in education means giving the less fortunate children different and more, not the same and equal, educational provisions. How to make this positive discrimination educationally meaningful, in terms of classroom methods and school organisation – thereby overcoming the social bias which at present frustrates the goal of equality of educational opportunity – is one of the major tasks ahead for education.

Recommendation 18
More Integrative Policy for Education

We thus propose a more "integrative policy for education".

We define this policy as including:

Recurrent educational opportunities for those in the labour force, so that they may advance their skills and have a "second chance". There should be an element of education in work.

Recurrent work opportunities for those in the learning force following age 16, so that they may encounter the world of work. There should be an element of work in advanced education.

Recurrent education, defined as a mixture of working and educational opportunities throughout life following age 16 and until retirement, should become the dominant mode.

Provision of intermediary institutions which allow combinations of and alternations between education and work, including (a) educational institutions that allow for working experiences and (b) jobs (such as part-time, temporary and service oriented) that allow for education.

An overall strategy of equality of opportunity, including remedial assistance for those deterred by home or community environments, financial support for low-income students to continue their educational careers, comprehensive institutions and transfer programmes that facilitate keeping options open as long as reasonably warranted.

Such a policy would make possible a greater integration of education and work; of youth with age; and of life chances for those born poorer with those born richer, and those belonging to minority with those belonging to majority groups, of those born female with those born male. Better education, better work performance, and greater social justice would be the results. Education should follow a less separatist and a more integrative course; and labour market policy should take education more into account.

IV

MORE OPTIONS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL WITHIN A FREE-CHOICE SOCIETY

The individual has been the focus of consideration throughout this report. Individuals relate with society and achieve (or fail to achieve) fulfillment via a great array of institutions: families, schools, enterprises, trade unions, and others. It is one task of economic institutions to optimise opportunities for individual freedom and rationality, as well as to advance and protect the material wellbeing of their participants. In a world characterised by rapid changes, this implies a readiness to re-examine institutions continually with an eye to the barriers they may unwittingly support, to inequities that still exist and to inefficiencies that may occur.

All OECD Member countries rely to a major extent on educational and occupational choices by individuals and their families for the development of human potentials, the adaptation of skills to the needs of the economy, and the equilibria among economic, cultural and personal priorities which are necessary for the health of society. Over her or his lifetime the individual is called upon to make an increasing number of crucial decisions of an educational or occupational character, and together these decisions have a great deal of influence on whether the social system develops creatively.

OVERALL BALANCE BETWEEN EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Whether there exists today an overall imbalance between the growth of education and the capacity of the OECD economies to absorb the skilled people emerging from the schools and universities is an initial question to be asked. Such a situation of imbalance would, of course, render rational decisions by individuals about education and employment exceedingly difficult, and would lead to frustration and disappointment on the part of a growing number of young people and their families and thereby to social and political discontent.

In the 1950s and until the late 1960s, the labour market was very favourable for people with higher education. In spite of large increases in enrolment, the relative earnings of graduates held steady or improved, and unemployment

was virtually nil. However, in the late 1960s the situation changed, particularly in Sweden, the U.K. and the U.S.A., and to some extent in Canada. Graduates experienced a certain amount of unemployment and the initial search for a job lengthened. The previous privileged position of scientists and engineers (who had had total job security) disappeared. There was a decline in the relative earnings of new graduates. In other countries for which we have evidence, i.e. Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and Yugoslavia, the situation appears to have been different and there have been fewer worries about employment of graduates. In Japan, there has been a substantial reduction in the earnings differentials between graduates and others but there have been no noticeable problems of unemployment. It is therefore impossible to generalise about the situation in OECD countries as a whole, but recent imbalances between the number of graduates and job opportunities have to be watched carefully, since it is not entirely a cyclical but also a structural phenomenon in the labour market. A particular problem has developed in the teaching profession which has been sharply affected in countries where there has been a declining rate of growth of education – such as has happened in higher education in the U.S.A.

In the case of the U.S.A., the outlook for the 1970s has been examined in detail by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education which foresees a period of slow growth ahead, particularly in the academic profession itself. However, we doubt whether such a view of the demand for education is generally applicable. In most other OECD countries, enrolment ratios in secondary and higher education are a good deal lower than in the U.S.A. Their economies have been growing faster, and there are fewer signs that graduates have found difficulty in getting jobs.

However, there have been some important disequilibria in some countries and the situation needs to be kept under surveillance. Difficulties would be sharply accentuated if there were a prolonged period of slow economic growth, and it is therefore important to keep looking at future prospects and for solutions.

EDUCATION AND THE COMPETITION FOR JOBS

It has been claimed in some quarters that imbalances between the output and the absorption capacity of the labour market have occurred because employers insist on qualifications beyond those needed for the jobs. To obtain better jobs, this hypothesis assets, individuals have to indulge in a wasteful race for needless qualifications. We do not feel that the evidence as yet justifies these excessive fears about "credentialism", and we are therefore sceptical that it has led to a major misallocation of human resources, although there are some specific excesses.

Historically, the requirement for paper credentials developed in order to protect the public against malpractice and incompetence in fields like medicine and the law, and to guard against nepotism and favouritism in the public service. In the industrial world, too, unions usually have a strong preference for objective lists of trade qualifications rather than work dossiers which can lead to victimisation and favouritism.

The objectionable aspect of educational credentialism occurs when it is used as a monopolistic device to restrict entry to certain professions and trades, thereby imposing a meritocratic rat-race on the educational system. Credentials which were established initially to protect the public can become a means to protect vested interests. This appears frequently to have been the case in certain of the medical professions. In most countries, an experienced hospital sister or district nurse who wishes to join the more highly-paid ranks of the doctors must start medical training from the beginning along with completely inexperienced school leavers. Indeed, even this is often impossible because of prior and – from the viewpoint of experienced nurses – largely irrelevant educational qualifications necessary to embark on medical training. This kind of situation is repeated in other professions and trades in many countries: lawyers' clerks cannot easily become lawyers; junior civil servants are often debarred from rising to senior rank; engineering technicians are not allowed to become technologists without retracing their steps; practical accountants are deterred from becoming independent professionals, and so on. In certain countries plumbers and electricians, for example, cannot practice unless they have been through approved apprenticeship programmes in specific geographical jurisdictions.

In sum, although we do not believe that credentialism has resulted in any major misallocation of resources, the present emphasis on paper qualifications is somewhat exaggerated, both in the labour market and education. **We recommend that the public sector should take a lead in reforming its recruitment and promotion practices by reducing the emphasis on certificates and diplomas. Cumulative records of individual performances would in many instances be fairer and more effective indicators of the potential of individuals. The use of credentials and licensing arrangements as protective devices in certain areas should also come under closer scrutiny by governments.**

Recommendation 19

More Flexible Credentialism .....
A Lead by the Public Sector

Government Scrutiny of Restrictive Credentialism

PLANNING FOR A BETTER EQUILIBRIUM
ITS LIMITATIONS

A further question that arises is whether the forecasting of labour-market requirements and the planning of education to meet them offers hope of maintaining a balance between the demand of individuals for education, the growth of the educational system, and the availability of jobs. Previous work by the OECD has shown that economies of OECD countries at similar levels of income can be satisfied with very different distributions of people by educational background. Attempts, during the 1960s, to find "optimal" amounts and patterns of qualified manpower corresponding to specific levels of income and rates of economic growth were a chimera. Obviously it is important to plan the output of some highly specialised groups of manpower, and also to seek a broad relationship between the quantitative development of the educational system and future developments in the labour market – but we do not feel that the quantitative overall planning of education based on labour-market forecasts will do

much to achieve overall balance or to solve the problems of individuals and families in choosing educational streams and occupational orientations. The simple reason for this is that the time lag between decisions about education and entry into occupations is so great in many cases that the two systems, educational and employment, cannot be "synchronised" in any meaningful way as a result of planning.

For similar reasons, we are dubious that control of the growth of the education system as a whole could be used as a major component of contracyclical programmes by the public sector. However, the short-term education and training of adults in the labour force could clearly be used as a contracyclical policy, for the simple reason that the education of such persons competes for manpower with direct production. The flow of manpower between education and the labour market could, therefore, dampen conjunctural swings and other imbalances, and the deliberate influencing of these flows could be a regular element of public policy. So far as manpower training is concerned, some countries have already utilised such a contracyclical educational policy, inducing the numbers of participants to vary in a compensatory way against general, regional or sectoral variations in the demand for labour. Other countries have declared their intention to apply the same policy. We feel that such a policy, particularly at the level of adult education and training, is worth further consideration and experiment, and is particularly relevant in the current economic circumstances of slow growth and structural changes. **But our main recommendation is that, in dynamic, open societies such as ours, a more effective adjustment process should be sought by promoting more flexible opportunities for individuals to develop, adapt and change their skills, careers and social activities as changes on the economic and social scene take place, with new types of support by public and private institutions, and backed by a more dynamic and flexible educational system.**

Recommendation 20

The Main Hope for Adjustments is the Greater Flexibility of *Individual Options*

THE NEED FOR MORE FLEXIBLE LIFE PATTERNS

The rigidities of the existing institutional structures must be broken down, since they constrain and distort the decisions of individuals and thereby contribute to imbalances in the social system.

There must be a greater range of options open to individuals to choose new and flexible patterns of employment, education, training and retirement. The "lock step" of education followed by work and retirement must be broken, by recurrent education for those in employment and by new opportunities for youth in education and employment, as discussed earlier in this report. And the gaps between education and work, and between work and retirement must be bridged by better guidance and new institutional arrangements.

If people are to have as much freedom as possible to organise their lives and career patterns, undesirable conformity should not be enforced by the

regulations of public agencies or private enterprises. The financial and institutional relationships of employment, of recurrent education and of retirement, should be reviewed by governmental and private institutions in order to remove unnecessary impediments to individual choices. The economic implications cannot be ignored: social development must be consistent with an economically viable balance in our societies among leisure, work and education.

Recommendation 21

Tripartite Co-operation to Promote More Flexible Patterns of Life

We recommend that the flexibility of patterns of life is a major area for policy development and for joint study by governments, unions and employers, working together in order to agree on how the costs and benefits shall be allocated, and to decide what underlying institutional arrangements will be needed to make greater flexibility possible.

These new life patterns will not emerge of themselves. It is the responsibility of public policy, in conjunction with the social partners, to define the instruments that will provide the possibilities of and the incentives for individual and institutional change. The most powerful instruments in our view are, on the one hand, a redefinition of the rights of the individual, and on the other, the financial means to makes these rights a reality. These are discussed below.

FIVE RIGHTS – A NEW COMMITMENT TO THE INDIVIDUAL

In earlier parts of this Report we have made recommendations with regard to institutional changes in education and work that would amount to a major new commitment to the aspirations, *freedom* and development of *individuals* in our society. We have proposed a more positive policy towards working life – involving more training for individuals to enable them to develop their aptitudes and interests; more varied career prospects; better employment conditions in the broad sense of increased opportunities for interesting and agreeable jobs, for participation, and for autonomy; and a better balance between manual and intellectual work and among work, education and leisure. We have also proposed the general policy of integrative education, so that education becomes a better instrument of prolonged, flexible and varied human development as opposed to the current youth selection progress advantageous to those already privileged in society. **Taken together, our recommendations would amount to a major new commitment of society to its citizens – a commitment which could be summed up as follows:**

Recommendation 22

A Commitment to Five Rights

a) a basic education for all up to 16, with compensatory financing and pedagogical policies for disadvantaged groups as an integral feature throughout this period;

b) a wider range of options for young people in the 16-20 age group, including public programmes of social action and new combinations of school and work, of higher education and social and military service;

c) the opportunity of all citizens to participate in recurrent education, with special support for those who have least benefited from initial education during youth;

d) increasing emphasis on the quality of working life, with more open management and occupational structures so as to foster more equality and more mobility (upwards and downwards and sideways) as part of working careers;

e) more freedom of individuals to adjust the education/work/leisure/retirement periods of their lives with appropriate financing mechanisms to support them.

THE FINANCING MECHANISMS

The acceptance of such rights would amount to a basic change in both education and working life. Our recommendations would, we believe, produce substantial benefits for OECD countries, but a major shortcoming of our Report is that we have not been able fully to explore the costs of our policy suggestions. This was inevitable, given the time pressure under which we had to work, and the fact that we would have had to analyse problems of 25 different countries. But the problem would have arisen even if we had had more time, for the basic data on the cost of the options we have discussed are poor in all OECD countries and in urgent need of improvement. We must limit ourselves therefore to stressing the importance of certain basic principles in the approach to financing the five rights that we have defined.

The compulsory school-leaving age in OECD countries varies between 14 and 16, but we feel that 16 is a reasonable target for the support of full-time, compulsory schooling by public finance. Within this period, there should be positive discrimination in the allowance of resources so as to bring all children, as far as possible, to face the adult world on an equal footing. This will call for a major financial effort from some countries in coming years, particularly those developing Member countries where the school-leaving age is presently 14 or 15.

The extension of compulsory full-time schooling beyond age 16 is, in our view, no longer the most fruitful line of educational and social advance. The 16-20 age group should be provided with a wider range of education and working opportunities as part of a general public policy. The basic financing principle should be that, up to the age of 18 or thereabouts, when young people now legally become adults in many OECD countries, all individuals should have the right to free full-time or part-time education. Otherwise minors may be deprived of options because their parents may not be able or willing to finance them.

Beyond age 18, there are big differences in financial aid provisions for students in higher education in OECD countries. In the U.S.A., higher education is financed by a mixture of loans, grants, student employment and parental support. In Sweden, all tuition is free and students receive financial aid for living expenses in the form of government loans, which are repayable with adjustments for inflation. In the United Kingdom, nearly all students receive means-tested grants.

A number of proposals have been made for new methods of finance designed to achieve both improved equity and efficiency. Questions of equity

have to be viewed in conjunction with an analysis of the incidence of taxation as a whole. Where the major portion of government revenue is derived from highly progressive direct taxes, the equity aspects of educational financing may not be so central. However, this is not the situation in most OECD countries, and thus many of them face serious issues in the equity of present arrangements. Efficiency considerations are always involved although often neglected. Efficiency is important in its own right, and improvements in efficiency can also release resources to promote greater equity. There are, however, situations where there is conflict between equity and efficiency, and different countries have adopted different trade-offs between these two basic criteria.

Because the national situations in the OECD countries are so different, we have not felt able to make specific recommendations in this field. However, in virtually all OECD countries, patterns of educational finance have grown haphazardly and there is need for a fundamental review of existing financial mechanisms. Such a review should consider issues such as:

- the length of study, which is often too long in higher education;
- the rationale for existing pupil/teacher ratios;
- the degree to which costs should be covered by fees, and the subsidisation of student maintenance;
- the mixture of means-tested grants and various types of loan schemes;
- the allocation of funds to individuals rather than institutions;
- the timing of educational subsidies throughout the lives of the beneficiaries; and
- differential subsidies by length of training.

All of these involve important problems of both equity and efficiency. The major issue is to determine the private and social benefits of education, and the most equitable and efficient ways of sharing the costs between the private and public purse.

Since higher education is bound to be selected, its financing will always raise difficult problems of equity. As long as higher education leads to superior incomes and status, the demand for higher education will continue to be pushed upwards. **We therefore propose a study of educational drawing rights, whereby all young people at the age of, say, 16 would have a certain educational capital on which they could draw according to the career pattern they adopt. Such an arrangement might lead to more rational choices in the 16–20 age group, allowing those who prefer to work to do so without cutting themselves off from the right to higher education at a later stage.**

Recommendation 23

Study of Educational Drawing Rights

Most financial aid programmes provide more generous assistance to students in full-time education than to those who combine work with part-time study. It is also difficult for adults who wish to return to formal education after a period in the labour market to obtain adequate financial aid. Thus, although

the methods of financing education vary considerably among OECD countries, there is a general tendency for existing financial systems to penalise part-time students, older workers, and those with few formal educational qualifications.

In several countries, as we have noted above, workers are given paid educational leave by their employers, either as a result of legislation or of collective agreements between employers and trade unions. In others, adult workers may receive grants to finance retraining. Recently, the ILO has agreed to a convention recommending that all countries grant paid educational leave. In the case of marginal workers (younger or disadvantaged groups), imposition of the full burden of such training costs on employers might reduce the amount of employment they offer to this type of worker. In such cases, the cost of training should be met directly from public funds.

The question of who should pay for educational leave of absence is complicated by the diverse purposes it serves. Many firms already finance industrial training on a considerable scale because it provides direct benefits for the enterprise. From the point of view of individuals and society, it would be wrong to limit training opportunities for adults to those of immediate vocational interest. Since it is undoubtedly in the public interest that there should be an increasing range of education and training opportunities for adults already in the labour force, a joint effort by governments and by enterprises would seem to be the best approach.

Rights to education and training for those in the labour force, would, we believe, be a major step towards improving the quality of working life. The right to knowledge and the right to speak up are two sides of the same coin. But much more could be done to stimulate developments on other aspects of the quality of working life if experiments with new organisational forms, job design, and humanised technologies could be supported by public incentives in the same way that industrial technology is already promoted on a wide scale in the public interest.

Finally, if more varied and satisfactory patterns of life are to become a reality, financing mechanisms will have to be changed as they affect several points in the life cycle. More flexible financing of education, culminating in some form of educational drawing rights, would be one major step. But the financing of retirement incomes, of employment creation, of education and training and of social security must be conceived and planned as a whole in order to adapt to the urgent need for more options and flexibility during the lifetime of individuals.

Whilst not a practical possibility immediately, an integrated scheme of drawing rights for education, sabbatical leave, extended holidays and early or late retirement may be the answer. Such a scheme would give reality to a new freedom over the use of time, which individuals need because of the pace and constraints of our rapidly-changing, industrialised communities.

INSTITUTIONAL BRIDGES AND POSITIVE GUIDANCE

The growing number of social casualties in our advanced industrial societies will not be automatically halted by offering new and complex opportunities. The

most vulnerable cannot understand or grasp these opportunities without special assistance. Indeed, the disadvantaged are the extreme case of a general problem. In traditional societies, the future of most individuals was along well-trodden paths: son followed father, and daughter was destined to be housewife and mother. The destination was known. Now the individual is expected to face an unknown, if more equal, future via a labyrinth of institutions with rigid separations. Urbanisation separates home from school, school from work, leisure from factory, retirement from birthplace. The individual must be assisted to make these jumps, and new institutional arrangements are needed to provide transitions among different worlds of experience.

In the fields with which this Report is directly concerned, education and employment, it is urgently needed to change the relations among schools, institutions of higher education and employing institutions. Information is not enough, and guidance will not succeed in all cases. The experience of having a foot in both worlds is probably the best single way.

More and more there will be a need for institutions which bridge the worlds between which individuals are expected to step. This has already begun to happen in the field of post-secondary education – as in the community colleges in the United States – but it should spread into upper-secondary education in the form of programmes which enable young people to relate school and work experience in a realistic way. Young people should be offered a chance to obtain work experience in the labour-intensive social service sectors. In the opposite direction, businessmen, writers, artists and civil servants, for example, comprise a virtually unused source of teaching which could be very valuable in schools, on the understanding that the security of the teaching profession is taken care of. Like many others, the teaching profession is susceptible to isolation and inbreeding, and teachers should be given much more opportunity to alternate between the classroom and other places of work. In the long run, new institutions connecting school and work may be needed, preferably at the local level, where teachers, employers and trade unionists can co-operate in terms of opportunities for the people of their localities.

The dialogue among institutions should also find its expression in more positive and integrated guidance systems. The separation of educational and vocational guidance is to be deplored in a world where so many young people and their families are faced with complex problems of choice. Like most educators we would deplore the subordination of personal aspirations and cultural development to vocational choice, but the transformation of careers, the development of adult education, the spread of leisure and cultural opportunities, as well as changes in the field of education itself, all seem to point towards guidance systems which deal with the whole individual.

Recommendation 24

Guidance from School to Work and Work to Retirement

We therefore recommend that public authorities responsible for education and for the labour market should review their concepts in the field of guidance, and study the possibility of integrating the services available to the individual. Experimental transitional institutions should be set up between school and work, and work and retirement, within local communities.

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NEW ORGANISATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS

More widespread participation by individuals in public and private institutions, and closer links among institutions at the community and higher levels, are vital elements in the adaptation of institutional structures to the evolving needs and aspirations of people in modern society. Complex, democratic societies must continue to invent ways of creating and preserving an effective and human link among the needs and hopes of individuals, the services provided by the institutions which affect all aspects of education and employment, and the activities of enterprises. For educational institutions, this means increased participation by students, and by employers and unions, in the decisions which affect both education and working life. For individuals in the labour force, it means increased participation through the many and varied channels being devised by the more far-sighted enterprises, unions, and governments in Member countries. For enterprises, it vitally concerns the place given to their manpower policies in relation to other policies; and affects the roles of unions and employers, not only at the level of the enterprise but also at higher levels, in the development of education and manpower policies. For governments it also means the development of institutions which are specifically charged with the task of co-ordinating and developing education and manpower policies as means of helping to attain a greater degree of social equity within a context of economic viability and efficiency.

There is no simple answer as to how this approach could be implemented in the Member countries. Institutions must reflect past traditions and the social values of each individual nation, and the same strategy will, therefore, not be relevant to all. But we feel on safe ground to press two points.

Firstly, no adequate answers can be found unless the world of education and the world of work are brought closer together. This means that the social partners – the trade unions and the employers – must have a voice in policies and must be ready to take on new social responsibilities.

Recommendation 25

Advisory Machinery at the National Level

Some advisory machinery at the national level is clearly needed to deal with the range of issues covered in this Report.

Secondly, in addition to national consultations, machinery is needed as close as possible to the realities of work and education. This suggests some reasonable decentralisation of responsibility.

Recommendation 26

Advisory Machinery at the Local or Regional Level

We would lay great store on regional or local institutions within which educators, trade unionists and employers could promote the development of their communities by relating educational and work opportunities.

V

CONCLUSION

The proposals we have made reflect our view that the problems we were asked to report on are both fundamental and long-term. Our report appears at a time when, in their relations with the rest of the world, the OECD countries are faced with fundamental economic, technological and social challenges. A new balance among growth, employment and economic stability has to be found. Obviously, these new conditions will affect the future of education in its relation to work. We believe, however, that the special strengths of the OECD nations in the trials ahead lie in the resilience and richness of their human resources, and in the arrangements which will enable these talents to be further developed and brought to bear on human, social and economic purposes. Much has been done, but the talents of major groups in the OECD peoples still lie fallow. We can see not better way of enabling them to be developed in the interests of themselves, and of society, than through new relationships between education and of society, than through new relationships between education and work.

Not all countries can implement the proposals we make at the same pace. No single country will find them all relevant. But all need to make a major effort to establish new and more effective methods of co-operation between the world of education and the world of work.

Our major views may be summarised as follows:

We have found that the quality of working life is not keeping pace with the capacities and the aspirations of individuals; and
We have recommended a "positive policy for working life" that involves better jobs, more flexibility of arrangements on and around the job, more chance for participation, more equity in advancement.

We have found that there are too many disadvantaged persons (particularly youth, women and members of minority groups) in the labour market; and
We have recommended measures to create greater opportunities for youth, more equality of treatment for women, and better chances for minorities (including a "Bill of Rights" for migrant workers).

We have found unwise separations between the world of education and the world of work; and

We have recommended a more "integrative policy for education", particularly through recurrent education, so that more students may work and more workers may gain additional education.

We have found too many rigidities imposed on the lives of individuals; and

We have recommended that more options be given to more individuals in a "free choice society" so that education and work and leisure and retirement patterns may vary more nearly in accord with individual wishes.

We have found inequities in the educational opportunities and the financing of those opportunities among individuals; and

We have recommended more equitable arrangements, including comprehensive schools and consideration of "educational drawing rights".

We have found little communication among educational and labour market authorities; and

We have recommended mechanisms for joint consultation.

Overall, we have concluded that better manpower and better educational policies and better co-ordination between them can contribute in many ways to a higher quality of individual lives, and to a more equitable and effective society. We end on a note of hope: there is much that can be done, and, if done, it will make a substantial contribution to individual and group welfare.

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